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The path which led from the village to Nariatan, the northwestern garden clearing, passed through the previously mentioned ceremonial clearing north of the village. A short distance beyond this point, a branch took off to the east and led to Waniwanitan, the northeastern and second largest clearing, which contained nine garden plots totaling approximately five acres. Each garden was tilled by a different man, but two men had plots in both Nariatan and Waniwanitan. The size of the average garden was one-half acre. There was no newly cleared land, and, in contrast to Nariatan which was still yielding, nearly all of the crop (mostly manioc) had either died or been harvested. Quain noticed that the soil in Nariatan had a gray tone, whereas that of Waniwanitan was reddish in hue. This difference in color was due to the ashes deposited by the more recent burning over of the former site.

Nariatan was a newer garden than Waniwanitan, and the former was planted to a variety of crops while the latter was nearly all in manioc. This is indicative of the common tropical forest slash and burn system whereby second year gardens are used only for manioc growing, and new areas in which the soil is still comparatively rich are used for other vegetables in addition to manioc. The Trumaí are unique, however, in that the garden clearing was divided into individually owned plots. Smaller individual gardens or large gardens cleared and cultivated collectively are the general rule in the rain forests of South America.

The three other clearings were small, and each contained one garden plot. One was one-quarter acre in size, while the other two each comprised one-half acre. These small gardens were connected with the village by separate paths and were closer to it than the two larger clearings. Anariatan, Nariatan and Waniwanitan were named after old village sites, but Quain knew of no abandoned locations from which the names Tan Toreake and Tandatake could have been derived.

Horticultural Techniques

It is difficult to assess the relative importance of horticulture, fishing and gathering in the subsistence economy of the Trumaí. At different times of the year each made the major contribution to the diet. Most garden products became available at about the middle of the rainy season, but manioc was dug up when needed throughout the year. Fish and manioc were staples the year-round, although fishing was poorer during the rains. Each was more important in the total diet than were the products of gathering. However, the subsistence of the Trumaí at certain times of the year, especially in the early part of the rainy season, would have been seriously threatened without the wild foods.

The agricultural cycle started in the early part of the dry season when the clearings needed for the next rainy season's gardens were made.

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often gathered together, and at times all of the women of a house would work together in *piquí* collecting. Parties of boys and men sometimes picked up the fruit, and a man often went gathering with his wife to protect her from possible enemies, especially if there had been recent threats or omens. He took his bow and arrows, and frequently did not help in carrying the fruit back to the village. The *piquí* was brought to the village in basket containers, and then made into a variety of dishes.

Guava (*warucaru*) grows wild in the forest, ripening a short time before *piquí* does, but extending into the season of the latter. Quain believed it to be a valuable vitamin C supplement to the diet, but it was a far less important food than *piquí*. Men participated little in guava collecting, although they accompanied their wives for sociability and protection. Quain described these connubial gathering expeditions as being largely pleasant jaunts through the wood. Children often went out for the fruit, which they brought back to the village strung on straws.

The water lily from which salt was made was another important item gathered during the period of Quain's residence among the Trumaí. The water lilies were collected in the Trumaí lagoon, and the complete salt-making process was carried on there. Each Trumaí built a rack over the waters of the lagoon. The lilies were pulled up, spread out on the rack to dry, and later burned. The ashes were sifted to obtain the salt. Quain did not mention any women's salt racks, but the women prepared their own supply of salt, too. Quain saw salt-making only in the early part of September, although it is possible that it occurred prior to this time as well. However, salt was not made after the middle of September, due to the rains and the exigencies of planting.

Ants were eaten by the Trumaí, and, according to an informant, by all groups in the area. A little boy demonstrated the correct way to consume them when he joyously brought in a fat one, plucked off its abdomen and swallowed it. Quain was told that later in the season the women and children would go out and collect them in large quantities. Other insects were in heavy demand for feeding the harpy eagle and other pet birds. Crickets were considered especially good for this purpose, and the boys made great sport of shooting these insects with their miniature bows and arrows.

A few other wild foods were eaten, but these were relatively insignificant. Among them was the fruit of the *aua'o* palm. Another fruit called *lamux*, resembling the crabapple in taste and superficial appearance, had a gelatinous interior. An unnamed plant is described by Quain as resembling grass, but having a quality like algae. It was eaten only in times of a manioc shortage. *Kamu's* is a parasitic plant that looks and tastes like the date. The *atoh* is a berry that tastes like the chokecherry.

Fift'a and *tucasi*, the fish poisons, were gathered in the locale. The gathering and preparation of *tucasi* boughs was a cooperative venture.

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Older boys and men went into the forest to cut down the trees and bring the boughs back to the village. The men then took turns in pounding the boughs into coarse fiber with the blunt end of an axe. Even men who did not participate in the gathering of the boughs helped in their reduction into fiber.

The group nature of the work is understandable in view of the communal labor and benefits involved in fish poisoning. Once the boughs were reduced, the fibers were cut into sheaves of about two and one-half feet in length. These sheaves were used to poison the water. Interestingly, both bark and wood were pounded up together, although, according to Quain, only the bark is poisonous.

The *buriti* palm supplied two raw materials, *isinke* and *isinke hut'*. *Isinke* was obtained from the heart of the young spike of the growing tip of the palm. The top was separated to give access to the heart, and long fibers were pulled out, which were then hung in the interior of the house to dry. When dry they resembled a heavy hemp, and were used to make cord. *Isinke hut'* is the leaf of the *buriti*, which was used in basketry.

Hunting

Hunting was not important at any time during Quain's stay. Tapir, peccary, deer, monkey, jaguar, squirrel and paca, a large rodent, are among the animals mentioned by Quain as being found in the vicinity, but only the monkey and paca were eaten. Birds were also eaten, and their feathers were used for ornamentation. Terrapin were caught by hand, either by creeping up on them or by swimming close to them under water and grabbing them by the shell. All other game was shot with the bow and arrow, except for the capybara, called *tsimo* by the Trumaí. Canoeists speared the swimming animals. The spear was used at no other time in hunting or fishing, although the Ysulapiti speared fish.

Quain saw no organized hunting parties. One or two men sometimes set out with the express intention of hunting, but most animals were shot while on fishing or gathering expeditions. The Trumaí did not rely on meat, nor did they show a craving for it. Hunting seemed to be more a pastime and sport than a subsistence activity. When Quain hunted with the Trumaí he noticed that they wanted him to kill birds more for their feathers than for their meat. They also wanted him to kill several entirely worthless birds because, as two of the men expressed it, they wanted "to see it."

Foods

The horticulture, fishing and gathering economy of the Trumaí gave them a fair variety and adequate quantity of food during most of the year, barring crop failure. The Trumaí, however, had a considerably

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smaller food stock than did the Kamayurá. Quain found the Trumaí diet nourishing and tasty, and although the methods of cooking were not always appetizing from a European point of view, he notes that "the delightful rounds of foods are endless," and that there were many recipes for their preparation.

Manioc processing, from harvest to finished product, was the work of the women. The tubers were dug up when reserves of *beijú*, or manioc cake, ran low, for the supply of manioc flour on hand was always enough for several days, but no more. The first step in the process was to scrape the skin from the tubers. This was done with a clam shell, the rough edges of which had been abraded so as to give a smooth scraping surface. The manioc was then reduced to a wet pulp by rubbing it on a grater made of wood studded with sharp bones. In order to extract the prussic acid from the bitter manioc, the pulp was placed on an open-work sieve, or *tunʃi*, which was set on top of a wide-mouthed Waurá pot, and water was washed through it. The mass was then wrung out and re-washed. After several washings, the manioc was squeezed into a lump and dried on a rack in the sun. The flour (*kwrima*), thus prepared, was used to make the flat manioc cake or was mixed in water to make a gruel. For *beijú*, the sun-dried lumps of flour were pulverized in a large wooden mortar set in the floor and moistened, sometimes with fish juice. It was then placed on a flat clay plate (*ja'meo*) and beaten with a special wooden paddle until flat, after which it was baked. Two kinds of *beijú* were made: a thin and a coarse, thick type. *Beijú* was sometimes eaten plain, but other foods were usually heaped on top.

Manioc was also regularly consumed in the form of a thick gruel prepared by boiling the flour in water. A fibrous fruit known as *iriwa* was often boiled with the manioc gruel and imparted a prune-like taste to the dish. When drinking it, the fruit was chewed, the shells and fiber spat out. The manioc gruel (*ats aek*) was kept in the house in gourds.

Fish were roasted or boiled. Roasting was done by holding the fish directly over the flame, or by wrapping it in a broad palm leaf and placing it on a babricot over the fire. A common dish was a thick stew of boiled fish which was heaped on *beijú*. Fish was also added to stews which contained vegetables in season. Men did all the roasting in the Trumaí village, although it was permissible for a woman to help. However, most foods were prepared by boiling, and the burden of cooking thus fell on the women.

The *piqui* fruit (*toinon*) was the most versatile food in the village during Quain's period of residence. The most important dish was boiled *piqui* pulp (*ke'jau*), which was placed in containers and stored in the waters of a pool in sufficient quantity to last until the end of the rainy season. *Piqui*, like most fruits, ripens and falls uniformly, making it necessary to gather the harvest all at once, and to prepare and store

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it before it rots. The Trumaí worked hard at this, and Quain heard the sounds of women boiling and stirring the *ke'jau* far into the night. Some of the *ke'jau* was placed in gourds for immediate use. It was mixed with water, making a rich yellow drink, and was frequently stirred into the manioc gruel, or *ats aek*. *Ke'jau* was considered an excellent food for canoe trips, and was carried by fishermen and travelers.

The *piquí* fruit when roasted whole "tastes like egg yolk, or, vaguely, like deviled eggs," Quain wrote. In addition to cooking the pulp of the fruit, the kernel of the *piquí* pit was used. It was sometimes eaten raw, but usually it was cooked. The kernel has a fragrant, coconut-like flavor. A pudding was made by boiling down *piquí* kernels to the consistency of paste and, to Quain, the flavor was much like that of the caramelized coconut sauce prepared in Fiji. Another preparation called *t'ak*, which resembled *beijú*, was made from a flour prepared from *piquí* kernels. Fish and various other foods were piled on top of the *t'ak* and eaten with it, or pieces of the cake were broken off and eaten plain.

Maize, beans, and squash were grown in the Trumaí gardens, but due to the season none of these was eaten during Quain's stay. While making house inventories he saw small amounts of maize and beans stored in gourds sealed with tree gum, undoubtedly to be used as seed. Two varieties of maize were eaten. The more common type was called *xotet*; the other was a red species known as *hy kapsik*.

Pineapples and bananas did not figure importantly in the diet. Although the Trumaí grew sugar cane (*kanaviya*), there is no information on its use. Sweet potatoes were roasted by the men, but were probably prepared in other ways also. A paste was made from cotton seeds by pounding them in a mortar and then boiling the mashed seeds. The paste was kept in a gourd and eaten by scooping it up with the fingers.

Quain's notes contain little on the preparation of wild foods other than *piquí* fruit. Guava were eaten raw, but there is no information on how the various kinds of palm fruits were prepared.

The abdomen of a large ant called *xokoldomat'ek* was considered a delicacy, and flying ants were popped into the mouth like peanuts. A tremendous green grasshopper with long horns (*tawarero*) was roasted and eaten. A small red tick (*tekwu*) was also consumed, but a fuzzy caterpillar known as the *ma'yryr* was looked upon with revulsion. The Trumaí claimed contemptuously that only the Suyá ate them.

It would appear that the Trumaí seldom drank plain water. Instead, beverages such as the manioc or *piquí* drinks were used. A gourdful of one of these drinks was usually available in the houses, and a supply was taken on canoe trips. No intoxicating beverages were made, but Quain was told by a former captive of the Yuruna that the Yuruna brew "kills you for a day or two, and they stay up all night shouting and singing." The informant did not approve of its taste or effects.

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CHAPTER THREE

TRUMAÍ SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Property Ownership

105 Trumaí society was relatively simple. There was no social stratification based on wealth, nor were the mechanisms of social control and cohesion highly developed. This was in accord with the individualization of productive effort and the low level of economic surplus. The political unit was a single community, the sole bearer of Trumaí culture.

All land and productive resources were considered the property of the community, and the right to their exploitation resided with any individual willing to expend the labor. Gardens were individual property, but only in the sense that the man who reclaimed the land from the jungle was entitled to its product. There was no concept of alienable property in land, entailing the right of disposition. The *piquí* trees were said to be owned individually, but the owner exercised exclusive rights only over the first fruits. Other wild food plants were community property and their fruits belonged to the gatherer.

The fishing rights to lagoons and backwaters of the rivers belonged to the tribes in whose territory they were located. There was no individual ownership of fishing sites.

There was property in foods, but as soon as they were cooked they were freely distributed. *Beijú* belonged to the women, but the manioc out of which it was prepared was said to be the property of the man who grew it. Such distinctions were largely academic. Actually, the men grew the vegetable and the women harvested it, prepared it, and cooked it, after which it was distributed and eaten. The same situation prevailed in regard to the products of fishing, hunting, and gathering. Salt was the only exception, as it was prepared and owned by individual men and women. The difference undoubtedly lies in the fact that salt was an important trade item, while the other commodities were not.

Very little property can be said to have belonged to the family. Baskets and gourd containers were made by the men for themselves and for the women, but they were often used by both a man and his wife. Nearly all material objects outside of natural resources were owned by the person who made them or the person to whom an object was given. House ownership was vague, since houses were built and occupied by more than one man, and abandoned when the village moved. The house, however, was often considered the property of the man who put

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but the frequent repetitions and the small number of pitches made accompaniment possible, and their voices fell consistently into the fourth interval below those of the men. The women, however, enjoyed their role thoroughly and gave far better support than the men, who made little effort to coordinate their activities. 796 243 533

The songs were arranged in a series of three verses. Each time a new house was entered, the singer started a new series. Matiwana's songs were more elaborate than Nitvary's. Occasionally the old man would make a mistake and have to start the verse over again, but these lapses merely amused him. The only musical instrument used was the tapir hoof rattle. [534]

Quain gives no detailed information on the dances involved, but apparently they were simple, and perhaps partially improvised. Nitvary was the sole person to take special pains with his toilet before leading a dance. At such a time he usually wore a feather headdress and painted his body ornately. [535] [302]

One of the more important parts of the *ole* ceremony was the complex of activities surrounding the *ole* posts. A few days after the ceremony began several poles were brought into the clearing just outside the village, and the bark was peeled from them. They were rubbed with white clay and painted in colored designs. Each man placed the pole he had decorated upon his shoulders and brought it into the village with shouts and singing. With the poles on their shoulders, they danced about the village, finally placing their burdens upright in holes that had been dug previously in the village plaza. The children helped by packing dirt around them. The women then smeared red *urucú* dye on the bases of the poles and just below the upper ends. Tufts of cotton were put on top by both men and women. An offering in the form of fish on *beijú* was placed in front of the posts. Later in the afternoon, and early every afternoon for the next two weeks, the men ate together among these poles. Their attitude in this ceremonial milieu was certainly not one of special reverence, for they draped two blankets Quain had given them over the posts for shade. 796 243 [386] [782]

Nearly every day additional food offerings were placed in front of the posts. One post was given special attention. This was Nukekerehe, which was said to be malignant. However, fear of Nukekerehe was mixed with jokes. Quain was told one night that the men would not go to bed until he did, for if he stayed up long Nukekerehe would surely eat him. Weeks later, when the posts were pulled up and brought into the houses of their owners, the man carrying this pole stamped his feet at the children and pretended anger, much to everyone's amusement. On one occasion Matiwana performed a ritual in which he was apparently acting the part of Nukekerehe. He made wrathful noises and jumped about in front of the post, before which were two bowls of manioc soup. [782] 796 243 522 [242]

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796 He then started a song about the post in which he was joined by Nitvary
243 and the women. After two repetitions, the women poured a bowl of the
522 soup on Matiwana's head and shoulders, making a dripping mess of him. He retired amid general laughter. The second bowl of soup was then poured over the pole. A full explanation of the beliefs surrounding the *ole* posts was not obtained.

796 Due to the fact that Quain had only recently arrived in the village
243 when the ceremony was held, there is also a lack of clarity in the system
608 of relationships known as *ole aton*. The word "*aton*" means "pet" in Trumaí, but in the present context it applies to a temporary ceremonial identification between people, and between people and the *ole* posts. The
[571] interpersonal ties set up were only between persons of opposite sex. However, a man could have more than one woman for *aton*, and vice versa.

Kinship may be the determinant of these ties, but the data are inconclusive. Interestingly, the greatest number of *ole aton* relationships existed between people of the previously mentioned pairs of houses, suggesting a ceremonial reinforcement of this moiety-like arrangement.

Except for reciprocal gift-giving obligations, nothing is known of the behavioral roles called for by these connections. The owners of the *ole* posts were said to have their particular posts for *atons*. Their chief
[782] ceremonial duties were to peel and paint the pole, and supply it with
[798] food offerings. It may be hypothesized that the posts represent certain spirits with which individuals are identified, perhaps as the result of shamanistic experiences, as described by Oberg for the Kamayurá.[6]

796 During the *ole* ceremony, as during the cure described above, Quain
829 was impressed by the lack of interest in the proceedings. Those who
181 were not part of the immediate activity sat and smoked, indulging in the usual topics of conversation. The loose patterning and secularity which characterized the ritual bespoke the general lassitude that permeated all aspects of the culture.

The Piqui Ceremony

796 The *piqui (tsinon)* ceremony occurred at the end of the harvest of that fruit, during the first half of the rainy season. It was similar to the *ole* celebration, but not as lengthy nor as important. Quain's information on the festival, obtained from Aloari, is very limited. Jakwanari, the main functionary, occupied a position similar to that of Matiwana and Nitvary in the *ole* ceremony. As Aloari phrased it, "Jakwanari had *tsinon* as *aton*." There was house-to-house dancing by the women, accompanied by singing of a certain series of songs. At the end of the dancing Jak-
[262] wanari's wife made a large quantity of *t'ak*, the *piqui* flour cake, which

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

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Jakwanari then presented to the dancers as payment. In another part of the ceremony, a gourd of the *piquí* fruit drink was poured on Jakwanari in the same manner that the manioc gruel was poured on Matiwana during the *ole* festival.

The Spear-Throwing Contest

The spear-throwing contest involved intertribal participation and was completely secular. The core of the celebration, which took place at the end of the rainy season, was a duel between rival teams representing the tribes of the area. The purpose of the duel was for a member of the team on the offensive to strike a member of the defending team with a blunt-ended spear propelled by an *atlatl*, or spear-thrower. The defendant held a few sticks vertically, one end resting on the ground, and tried to deflect the oncoming spear with them. The distance between the two was about twenty paces and hits were frequently scored. After each turn, the defender went on the offensive. The games were conducted in a spirit of friendship and festivity. Bruises, some of which must have been severe, were compensated for by gift exchanges.

The participants painted their bodies elaborately for the combat. One informant erroneously stated that the masks for which the area is famous (but which were no longer made by the Trumaí) were worn during one part of the festival.[7] Intertribal wrestling matches were also held at this gathering.

The Bull Roarer

Information on the defunct bull roarer rites, as for other ceremonies, is extremely meagre. As the Trumaí express it, they have "buried the *kutá*" (bull roarer), but most of the adult men knew the ritual connected with it and remembered when it was still in use. The Trumaí formerly went to the Kamayurá village and took part in the ceremony there. One man told Quain that dancing in the Trumaí village preceded the ritual, whereupon they all went to the Kamayurá village and "did things that the women cannot see." Then, he said, there was a great deal of wrestling and copulation. Yati, Maibu, and Tun played a ceremonial role known only to them, while Yati, Oirupa, and Nitvary sang certain songs at night when everyone was asleep. The ceremonial flutes found throughout the upper Xingú are not mentioned in Quain's notes. Apparently, they were no longer used by the Trumaí.

[7] These masks are worn during a ceremony called the *jakuí* by the Kamayurá, which, according to Galvão (1950, p. 385.) takes place in the same season, thus explaining the confusion.

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four, three between five and seven, two between seven and ten, and the other two between ten and twelve. The little girl could not as yet walk alone. The two youngest boys could, although occasionally they still suckled at their mother's breasts.

The Trumaí infant was subjected to very little training. Rarely was the very young child told not to do anything. However, all the children except for Katsits, the infant girl, knew that they should defecate in the bush and urinate away from the village plaza. Katsits very often eliminated in the house, or while she was in her mother's arms. X'utsi, the mother, merely scraped a bit of dirt over the wet spot. She gave no indication to the child that this was an undesirable act, and the child took no note of her own activity. Exactly how a child learned to exert self-control is not clear, but it was probably by emulating older children and adults, whose toilet habits were hardly a secret.

The child suckled until it was five or six years of age, although it began to partake of the ordinary diet by the end of the first year. Yumunuwa said that she suckled Tsirikoan three times a day: morning, noon, and evening. This was not a strict regimen, for the boy often crawled into her lap or straddled her waist and suckled at odd hours. Until about five years old, the child slept in the mother's hammock, or if motherless, with the father. Often it slept with the mother's breast in its mouth, and if it awoke during the night, it suckled until it fell asleep again.

The nursing of older children is a perpetuation of the infantile pattern, and it is indicative of the lack of stress on weaning. Also, because of infanticide and the low birth rate, there is little cause for sibling rivalry among the Trumaí.

Help was given the child in learning to walk and talk. The men appeared to devote more attention to this phase of upbringing than the women. Katsits was often walked about by her father, and sometimes by Maibu or other men who lived in the same house. Her father was eager to have her walk by herself so that he would not need to coach her, but nevertheless he and the other adults showed the greatest indulgence and patience in this task.

Part of the father's anxiety was doubtless due to the taboos which restricted his activity until his child had learned to walk. The most important of these was a ban on sexual intercourse. When Katsits developed colic, it was generally thought to be the outcome of coitus between the parents. Certain foods were also forbidden the father, one being seasoned fish hash, which was a great favorite. It is not known whether the mother was also required to observe food taboos.

More emphasis was placed on teaching the child to speak. The adults and older children made repeated attempts to put words into the mouths of the very young, saying the same phrases over and over again. In this

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compartment in the house for six months, at the end of which time she is accepted as a young woman.[3]

Menstruation caused no special distress to the Trumaí women. They maintained personal cleanliness with the aid of leaves, going out into the brush behind the house to care for themselves. Although the relevant taboos were observed, the women talked frankly to Quain about menstruation, and were interested in learning what white women did during the period. The men, although expressing a fear of menstrual blood, did not shun the subject either. Most of them knew when women in the village were having their menses.

Everyone was extremely shocked when Quain told them that white people often had intercourse during the menstrual period, for such contact would make a Trumaí man fall ill and die. Aloari said that he would surely die of a cough if he copulated with his wife then. The blood itself was considered malignant, infecting whatever it touched. The whole village became very disturbed when Kuyafi dropped some menstrual blood on the path to the gardens. Aloari averred that he would not go for manioc until the rain washed it away.

Fear of polluting forced a menstruating woman to make frequent trips to the weeds, where nobody walked. The danger also extended to her person. During this time she was not allowed to cook, although she could sit around the fire when food was being prepared. (Quain's departure from the Trumaí village was delayed for a day as both the wife and sister-in-law of Aloari, who was to accompany him, were menstruating, and there was only one woman left in the household to make his *beijú* supply.) Nor could the menstruating woman carry water or take a bath. However, a prohibition on eating fish was the only food taboo that she had to observe.

Marriage

A man was ready to seek a mate within one or two years after his initiation, or at the corresponding age level. Women were suitable prospects soon after their puberty rites. It was common for marriages to be arranged by parents while their children were still infants. These infant betrothals were usually between cross-cousins. It is doubtful, however, whether many such arranged marriages were consummated, both because of the high mortality and the fact that most of the Trumaí women were ultimately fought for and won by verbal battles in the men's circle.

Courtships were neither long nor formalized. When a man developed an interest in a woman, he usually expressed it by attempting to seduce her. In most instances, amorous advances were made without any in-

[3] Rodrigues Ferreira 1946, p. 92.

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609 It was necessary to make another attempt; since our Indian was apparently not adequate, Antonio was induced to make a speech in Bakaïrí. After a little shy resistance, he took heart and shouted across energetically that he was a Bakaïrí, and that the Bakaïrí are good, and that the Trumaí are also good, and that the Bakaïrí were friendly to the Trumaí, that therefore the Trumaí should also be friendly to the Bakaïrí. Actually, he made himself heard for a moment, but the Trumaí realized at once that they did not understand him and outshouted the poor soul, whose voice died away. Hold on, I remember two Trumaí words which the Kustenaú chief had told me: apirí, /Illustration appears here/ /193/ "friend," and meijú, our beijú, the mandioca bread. With a truly stentorian voice I therefore cry: "Apirí Trumaí, meijú Trumaí, apirí." If my purpose had been to fan the storm, I could have been satisfied. The effect was dazzling. My words came back in the loudest echo; I had definitely spoken
• [262] good Trumaí. From the bottom of the canoe they fetched the beijús, which have the shape of large pancakes baked in a pan,
[302] and waved this token of peace in the air. Particularly the chief shouter, a young man painted brick-red from head to toe, talked with great enthusiasm about such a cake which he seemed to be demonstrating and explaining like a professor in a classroom.

Some success was noticeable, however; they were quarreling among themselves. The brick-red one was obviously inclined to
[302] break off the preliminaries and to enter into closer acquaintance; but one canoe in particular, with three tall, uncanny, coal-black ones, decidedly refused and implored the other heroes not to listen to the words of that demagogue. But the opposition was overruled. Three of our men climbed into a canoe and rowed into the midst of the hostile fleet, laughing kindly and talking; that won their hearts. Still parleying a bit, they approached the shore and
[152] finally landed. The black or red, ugly faces, whether the more so by artifice or by nature I do not know, grinned happily in our direction; each of us took one of the fellows by the arm, whereupon a second man of theirs quickly took his other arm; thus we strode, fraternally united, to our campsite.

[Text continues on p. 176]

/194 cont./

609 123 [439] [262] It was only then that we recovered our senses and were able to understand the reason for the incident. Apparently the Trumaí had been animated by the urgent desire to barter as soon as possible and with as little ceremony as possible for some of our treasures in exchange for their miserable beijûs, which looked gray as though made with buckwheat flour, were coarse-grained, and tasted slightly sour. With this in mind they had been active everywhere. Of Wilhelm's companions, one had been busy with the hunting knife and the other with the gun at the same time, and the latter, while my cousin was trying in the friendliest way to keep them off, had unfortunately pressed the cock. In any case the culprit was the most surprised by the effect; otherwise he would not have been kicking so frightenedly on the ground.

In spite of the miraculous speed with which they dashed to the boats, however, the Trumaí had not lost all presence of mind. The two who had just been trying on Castro's and Antonio's hats did not forget in their hasty running to put them on well down over their heads. Another old hand had still found time on his flight to snatch up quickly one of the large fish lying on the beach.

Antonio's behavior when he was so unexpectedly deprived of his precious hat was characteristic. Without further ado he shot his pistol at the thief, but in his rage fortunately missed. And when we /Illustration appears here/ /195/ asked him whether he really wanted to kill the man, he nodded with the greatest composure, "Yes, he had my hat."

126 411 The returning men brought back a rich ethnological collection, at least in terms of the number of objects. The bows were very fine and strong; one was shot to pieces, proof that the shots had not been fired entirely happazardly. The arrows provided with pointed pieces of bamboo were plentiful; these bamboo blades, which, as could be easily seen, had been freshly sharpened, are only loosely inserted in the shaft with a little resin; after the arrow has reached its mark, they break off and remain embedded in the body. There was a single club, crudely worked, flat, 86 301 centimeters long. One feather ornament was particularly pretty; 237 the green, orange-colored, and white feathers were mounted on

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 79]